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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the primary educational needs of two Fijian villages, Nakawaga and Nukubolu, and three Javan villages, Harjowianangun, Purwosari, and Puliharjo, and inquires into the nature of a rational model of education for rural communities undergoing change from the existing provision of schooling. The paper's basic thesis is that education should be adjusted to the very different contexts of socio-economic changes which are occurring in village life and which can be foreseen to be probable in the immediate future. The desires of the villagers themselves, are emphasized as the best way to define the characteristics of an appropriate education. The paper consists of two main sections, dealing with the Fijian and Javan villages respectively. Details on the social, cultural, economic lives of the villages are presented, the existing primary schools are described, and findings are presented on what villages desire for schooling. Expansion of opportunities for secondary schooling is not necessary to meet the pace and direction of change in Fijian villages, but expansion is necessary in Java to enable a greater proportion of youth to be prepared for mobility into urban or transmigration environments. In both contexts, there are urgent needs for non-formal educational programs which address the needs of youth and young adults. (KH)

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PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE LANDS OF PADI AND PALM OR THE WESTERN PRIMARY SCHOOL IN R/EVOLUTION: FIJI AND JAVA

by

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Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Australian and New Zealand Comparative International Education Society (10th, Sydney, NSW, Australia, November 24-26, 1982).

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Primary Schools in the Lands of Padi and Palm
Or
The Western Primary School in R/Evolution: Fiji and Java

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Preface

I should like to acknowledge the studies carried out by Lai Wanekesa of Nakawaga village (Fiji), Kusman Abdi of Harjowinangan (Central Java) and Soejono (Central Java). Their concern to design appropriate education has provided the stimulus for this report and their fieldwork its factual basis. I apologise to Soejono because constraints of my time and the length of the paper have prevented the inclusion of his study.

The paper is an enquiry into the perennial question as to the nature of a rational model of education for rural committees which are undergoing change starting from the existing provision of schooling which, in Fiji, is a recent heritage from the Colonial (Western) past, and in Indonesia includes both the continuing tradition of Muslim education and the Dutch inspired Colonial school.

The ideal of an education which is adapted to the way of life of village people has a long history both in the Colonial period (The Jeans School of Africa) and in post-colonial nationalist movements (Gandi's Basic School and the Philippine Community School) but it has been rarely and only partially practiced. The ideal has itself often been criticised by, and proven to be unacceptable to, village people for whom it has been proposed, partly because it has been seen by them as an attempt by elites to restrict rather than enlarge their opportunities for mobility. Furthermore, the ideal has been criticised because it is not rational for the context of rapid change in village life which is the reality but only for an idealised past.

It is the assumption of this enquiry that it is rational for education to be adjusted to the very different contexts of socio-economic change which are occurring in village life and which can be foreseen to be probable in the immediate future. The corollary of the assumption is that it is rational for government and other educational policy makers to try to modify the institutions they have inherited to try to provide that kind of education. Insofar as there are differences in context there will also be differences in the design of appropriate education. It may be impossible, for reasons of resources and capacity, for government and private agencies to provide the kinds of education as may be rational, but nevertheless a rational design should chart the direction of desirable growth.

Definition of the characteristics of education which is appropriate to changing village contexts begins with the desires of people in villages (as far as possible to include the diversity of people in village society) and consideration of their reasons for seeking education. These desires, after W.H. Goodenough (1966) are referred to as wants. Because people may have false expectations of education or they may be unaware of the direction and pace of the changes which will affect them, their desires are not necessarily equated with rational forms of education. The forms of education which will assist people to adjust to changes in the sense that the education will help them to make whatever limited choices may be available are, also after Goodenough, called needs. These needs are to be defined by an observer, who, in the studies to which I referred, are members of the villages who have wider experience, but who is in the case of this enquiry, an outsider with limited experience in village life and perspectives as to the changes which will take place. It can only be said, in extenuation, that he recognizes, also after Goodenough, that the omniscient observer has yet to be found, and the decisions about future directions in education in the villages will be made by others.

NAKAWAGA AND NUKUBOLU

The Fijian villages are the two adjacent hamlets of Nakawaga and Nukubolu on the Island of Vana Levu some 100 miles by sea from the more developed Viti Levu. The hamlets are located in a high valley connected to a coastal road by a winding river. Access to the road is by a track which fords the river (often in flood) at five crossings and transport consists of rafts and pack horses. The road provides access to the two small market and administrative towns on the island. The communities are made up of 32 families, those in Nakawaga comprise a single patrilineal descent group (matagali) with a single traditional leader and those in Nukubolu comprise several matagali each with traditional leaders. At any one time about 8 per cent of the population are absent, employed as government or church workers and 24 per cent are absent on temporary work in sugar plantations or other seasonal activity. Repatriated income from these members forms a useful supplementary cash income for the hamlets.

Subsistence and cash farming is the basis of the economy. All male members of the villages have rights to the use of land, subject to the agreement of elders, and the land is abundant for the present population. Village people, now resident in the villages, are able to farm land by combining their own occasional labour with the employment of village residents.

The main crops sold for cash are also traditional subsistence crops which do not require the learning of new techniques, or cultivation which interferes with traditional land use or labour patterns. Innovations in farming include some new methods of animal husbandry, the introduction of fish ponds and an attempt (on the advice of agricultural extension workers) to introduce cocoa, which failed. In short, the traditional farming activities are undergoing little change and the change is both gradual and, because of past failure, cautious. The direction of immediate future changes seems likely to be toward some diversification of subsistence crops and animal husbandry to enrich the supply of protein, and attempts to grow fruit and vegetables for sale outside the villages. Stimulus to change in these directions is part of government sponsored extension education and occurs through the efforts of individual farmers from their observations of practices elsewhere. The opportunities for cash income have been responded to differently by individual households with the result

that some have been able to use cash to improve their housing, buy animals and also to invest in property in urban areas, whereas others have remained almost entirely in the subsistence mode.

The tendency toward involvement in cash transactions and individualism occurs against a continuation of a strong network of exchange of subsistence products between families, and of obligations to contribute to communal activities and ceremonies.

The traditional chief of Nukawaga represents the maintenance of leadership acquired by birth. The chief occupies the house on the highest part of the hamlet, conducts major ceremonies and is accorded respect and precedence in village communal affairs. He laments, however, that he is unable to maintain all of the obligations which, as chief, he owes to the village people because his household is small and his children, who traditionally would help to work the land, are absent at school or in jobs outside the village. He is aware that by investing his resources in schooling he has been forced to neglect his public responsibilities, and that his status as leader of the village has thereby declined.

The Methodist Church has introduced a new source of leadership and a new focus for communal activities into the hamlets. It is led by a catechist who is accepted as a fully participating member of the community, given rights to form matagali land, and linked to the community through church elders of the community. The Church and its leadership is supported by the traditional chief, and in turn the Church accords him support and a participatory role in Church-led ceremonies. Village people believe the church has strengthened village ties and traditional social values. At the same time it has led to the emergence of new leadership in communal activities illustrated by a village project to build a new church and community centre to be funded by a communal garden in which households work for some hours each week. The Church, in combination with Churches in other hamlets, was the originator also of the first school for village children, since supported by Government.

Secular leaders have emerged based on the economic and educational successes of individuals and families which also maintain their community obligations. Beressa, a man of little schooling but head of a large family, has become a successful farmer and runs a small shop in the village.

His success enables him to contribute livestock and kava to ceremonies, send his children to school, and at the same time to accumulate a cash surplus with which he has purchased a house in Suva. Manoa, a young married man with secondary schooling, has travelled abroad and organized a group of young men to form a work team in New Zealand from which part of the income is to be contributed to the village Church and community centre.

By contrast the villager appointed/elected (?) to the government district development board who represents village needs for physical improvements in the hamlets, has gained little influence, notwithstanding the decision by government to construct a road to the hamlets and provide subsidies for a water supply and other improvements. Personal qualities, rather than the lack of influence attached to this official position, probably contribute to his lack of prestige.

Technological change which will affect the hamlets' way of life will be the construction of a road to link them with the coastal road which rings the island. It will bring easier access to the small markets for cash crops though the limited markets on the island will not bring much expansion. It will increase opportunities for village people to purchase durable and consumer goods for the houses and for the community as well as allow children to travel to the school daily instead of board there during the school week and it will allow easier access to public health and other government sponsored services.

In general, the economic future appears to offer prospects for the maintenance and improvement of a secure basis in subsistence and increasing opportunities for some degree of cash agriculture and for the use of more diversified technology for all village people. In addition, there will be opportunities for the more innovative to concentrate a greater part of the activities of household members on non-traditional construction and perhaps transport related activities but at a level which falls short of becoming specialised, non-agricultural roles. A small proportion only will find opportunity for non-village occupations in the employed sector of the Fijian economy.

A primary school separated from the hamlets by five crossings of the river, which often floods, serves a number of hamlets in the area. It was constructed from village funds and on church initiative, but is now part of the government system. It is provided with government teachers and

follows the Fijian national syllabus which includes English and the Fijian language, but not the local dialect variant. All children of the hamlets attend and currently about 50 per cent complete the primary level. Selection for secondary or intermediate schooling is based on examination and successful students attend secondary boarding schools in towns. About 20 per cent of primary school graduates attend these schools, and about 10 per cent complete. Children return to the village from the middle grades of primary schooling and from secondary schools as voluntary dropouts or as failures from the school system. Non formal education is provided by extension services in health and agriculture on the initiative of these services. The Church is a focus of participation in religious ceremonies. A current project of village people is to provide for a community centre to be equipped as a non-formal education centre and workshop for use of young people in the village. Informal education takes place through the activities of village people who innovate in agriculture, introduce better housing and sanitation, and the spin off from occasional leadership training programs for young people conducted outside the village.

Wants for Education[1].

The village people are able to appreciate both advantages and disadvantages of schooling, and to articulate changes which they desire. There are also substantial differences in the desires of different families. Literacy (and numeracy) has become a common desire because it is regarded as necessary for dealings between village people as individuals and with people outside with whom they interact such as producers and consumers, and for participation in communal village activities in the Church. Some parents acknowledge that a reason for schooling is for their children to avoid the stigma of being uneducated.

Beyond this, ten per cent of parents want schooling to prepare children to live in the hamlets, and 30 per cent want it to prepare them both to live in the hamlets if they do not continue their schooling and to prepare them for secondary schooling so they may find their livelihood elsewhere.

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1. The wants of parents were gathered from a series of meetings with village adults, and questionnaires which probed the occupations desired, the functions of schooling, and the contents of schooling they considered to be most important.

For their parents literacy is an inadequate preparation for village life and they want schooling also to contribute skill training in agriculture, technical skills and "business", and religious education. Some 30 per cent of parents want primary schooling to prepare children for secondary schooling and want an emphasis on the examinable, career oriented subjects. A proportion of these parents, however, consider that skill training and religion should be important components of primary schooling. About half of the parents desire non-village occupations in the government sector as the best occupations for their children, and about half occupations in the village as farmers and artizans.

Needs for Education

Though the current and future changes in Nakawaga and Nukubolu are gradual and occur on a basis of security, the village people recognize that literacy and numeracy are important for their daily lives in the village and all want primary schooling of several years for these reasons. The communication changes which will bring increased contacts with the world outside the village, changes toward increased involvement in the cash economy and commercial relationship, and increases in the number of young people who will spend part of their working lives outside the village, suggest that minimum levels of literacy will become inadequate. It is sensible to consider a complete primary education as a minimal requirement. This need corresponds with the level of wants of the village people almost all of whom say they withdraw their children from primary school only after failure. The primary school at present, however, "fails" some 20 per cent of students. The reasons for this school practice do not relate to shortage of resources, but the precise causes are not known. An increase in retention, and perhaps more important, qualitative changes in teaching, curriculum and repetition rates appear to be required in the primary school.

The proportion of parents who want children to continue to post-primary schooling is between 30 per cent, the proportion of children which currently continues, and 70 per cent, the proportion of parents who consider preparation for secondary school should be a major function of primary schooling. It will be suggested below that 30 per cent is an appropriate level based on needs. Assuming that needs are of this order, it follows

that primary schooling should have a function to prepare the majority of students for a village based life and livelihood, allowing that part of their working life may be in occupations elsewhere. It will also function to prepare a minority of students for further schooling. These functions are consistent with the desires of village people but there will always be tension between them.

The functions need to be expressed largely in terms of changes toward a broader curriculum which includes skills related to improved productivity and the use of technology in the village, the incorporation of village customs, a greater stress on religious values and beliefs, and emphasis on nutrition, health education and recreation. These changes, also, require qualitative changes likely to tax the capability of teachers and require substantial and flexible curriculum development. None of the changes is likely to be successful without increased communication between the school and parents as they are not likely to be acceptable unless parents are convinced that the function of academic preparation is maintained, or to be relevant unless the content of programs is derived from some of the more common changes taking place in the villages.

Post primary schooling means attendance at urban boarding schools which concentrate upon preparation for jobs in the modern sector. It is desired by about 60 per cent of parents, and that desire will grow as village people participate to a greater degree in a part-cash economy.

The school system currently limits opportunity for post primary schooling to about 30 per cent of children and the opportunity for jobs in the modern sector is limited to eight per cent in permanent jobs, (about 24 per cent participate in non-village agriculture to which secondary schooling is not logically related), so that participation does not appear to need to expand in the near future.

The non-formal programs for village people currently provided are limited to visits by government agriculture and health extension workers who are regarded with some degree of scepticism by village people. Men complained that their attempts to follow advice to plant cocoa had failed and women, though many supported family planning, considered the methods recommended were hazardous. At the same time the community has laboured to construct a centre to provide for a workshop and literacy centre

under Church leadership and all families wanted to have programs to help young people learn technical skills and to provide help for them in health, keeping records, in the ways of gaining access to government services.

The felt needs of the people for non-formal programs may understate the needs which will arise from the increased opportunities to diversify subsistence farming and expand cash farming as well as to utilize new technologies. The best prospect for the development of an effective program may be to provide a village level worker to co-ordinate existing services and to utilize the centre to be constructed by villagers.

HARJOWINANGUN, PURWOSARI AND PULIHARJO

The three villages of Harjowinangun (population 1300), Purwosari (pop. 2800) and Puliharjo (pop. 1800) are located about one kilometre from the southern coast of Central Java in one of the most densely populated rural areas of the world. Densities in the villages are 770/km^2, 970/km^2 and 1005/km^2. They are adjacent to the major road to the town of Kebunan, some 24 kilometres distant, and they are connected by road to the major towns and cities of Central Java. Land is the economic basis of village subsistence and participation in the cash economy. It is held by individual tenure and by custom is divided for farmers' children as they establish separate households. Until a generation ago the land area was sufficient for division by most families though in decreasing amounts, but population pressure now allows only a small proportion of families to pass on land to their children. In this area of Java the land area required to sustain a family is in the order of .7 hectares of rice land and .3 hectares of other garden land (Singarimbun, 1973; Sayogo, 1977) but in Harjowinangun only 11%, in Purwosari only 3% and in Puliharjo only 3% of families own this amount. Increases in productivity from the green revolution will increase the proportions with adequate land to a small degree. Land ownership is extremely unequal. Some 20% of villagers are landless and derive the major part of their small incomes from handicrafts, brickmaking, collecting firewood, making Javanese sugar from coconuts and work as farm and general purpose labourers, or as transporters and carriers of goods. The daily incomes of this strata is in the order of 60 cents, sufficient for 2 kilograms of rice and 1/5 kilogram of meat.

Social divisions in the villages follow the distributions common in Javanese society between the 'little people' or commoners and the lesser nobility and officials (priyayi) and the Islamic traders. These distinctions are overlaid by distinctions in religious practice between the more nominal Muslims (abangan) and those whose beliefs and daily lives follow Muslim practices (santri). There are also economic divisions between the people who own land to various degrees and the landless peasants. The economic and social divisions correlate with a strong tendency for the land owning groups to also be strong Muslims and members of the nobility. Official positions also correlate with membership of the lesser nobility and with education and many of theofficial positions are held by primary school teachers.

Occupational functions in the villages are complex in that virtually all people carry out two or even three activities to provide an income for their households. Based on combinations of their declared basic and secondary

sources of income the distributions are shown in table 1.

Table 1

Paired Primary and Secondary Occupations by Village

Occupations	Harjowinangun	Purwosari	Puliharjo
	%	%	%
1. Farmer and Farm Worker	26.7	20.0	17.9
2. Farmer and Trader	63.3	55.0	43.6
3. Farmer and Official	3.3	15.0	2.6
4. Trader and Farm Worker	6.7	5.0	25.6
5. Trader and Official	-	5.0	10.3
T o t a l	30	60	39

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Children contribute in important ways to the economic activity of households, though the proportion of the officials' households which reported regular contributions from childrens' labour was slightly smaller than for other categories. For the farmer and trader categories all households reported that children contributed through the care of farm animals, child care and household labour, and the range of contribution varied between 11 and 30 hours per week.

The major economic change affecting the villages is fuelled by the imperative to increase rice yields from the limited land. The changes provided by the new varieties of rice, new technology for processing it, and the program of credit and fertilizers made available by government have brought the green revolution to the villages. The affect of these changes has been to increase yields from an individual crop and for some farmers from an increase in the number of crops per year. The higher yields have led to an increase in the incomes of some, and of the larger land owners in particular. But another affect has been to decrease the labour required for harvesting and processing, offset to some degree only by additional labour for multiple cropping. A new practice of farmers selling their unharvested rice to buyers who use contract labour (often from outside the villages) to harvest has been introduced.

A second technological change has affected the transport system, and with great rapidity, by the substitution of cars, trucks and buses owned by

urban businessmen for the horse, buffalo and hand drawn carts of village labourers. In Purwosari in 1979, for example, there were 17 carts and 20 waggons which had been reduced to 2 carts and 3 waggons by 1982.

The immediate effects of these changes has been to increase the incomes of the landowning members of the villages and to increase income differences between them, and to sharply depress the opportunities for work and the incomes of the landless. The harvesting system has eroded the system of shared poverty which was based on customary relationships between landowners and other villagers and thereby attacked their social and economic security.

The changes have been reflected in changed attitudes toward work outside the village as a way to supplement village derived incomes, and toward government sponsored programs of transmigration into agricultural work on other islands. The proportions of sampled households in each village which indicated a readiness to consider non village occupations for their children are substantial and do not appear to vary with the income of households or with the number of children they support. These proportions are shown in table 2.

Table 2

Proportions of Sampled Households which Indicated a Readiness to Consider a Non Village Occupation for Their Children

	Harjowinangun	Purwosari	Puliharjo
	%	%	%
Yes	57	86	61
No	30	14	26
Children can decide	13	0	13

Schooling and non formal education

Harjowinangun village has a long established religious school (Pesantren) strongly supported by its santri community. Each village has been served by a government primary school for at least a generation. Attendance of children has become almost universal during the last ten years. At present the schools have a substantial incidence of repetition in the primary grades (from about 16% in grade I to 2% in grade VI), and the drop out is also substantial (from about 3.3% in grade I to 6.9% in grade VI).

In the order of 60% of children who complete primary school (or about 36% of those who commence schooling) are able to transfer to secondary schools in towns.[1] Although attendance fees for primary school have been officially abolished, parents pay a variety of 'other' fees per month which on average are about equal to an unskilled worker's daily wage. More than 80% of parents consider these to be expensive or very expensive. The schools' routines allow time for substantial amounts of work by children (as noted above) but the opportunity costs which apply are hard to identify for different occupational/income groups.

There is no regular organized form of secular non formal education in the villages but there is regular religious observance and formal classes for youth attended by many.

Wants for education

The desire of parents for participation in schooling is universal as is the desire that children commence schooling at the ages of six or seven. Moreover, only about 10% of parents consider four years of schooling is sufficient and the proportions which do so are strongly linked to education, income[2] and occupation. It seems probable that the desires of the less educated poorer groups result in part from their background and a realistic appreciation of their incapacity to support children at school for longer. Ninety per cent of parents desired a six year cycle of primary schooling. In one village about 20% of parents wanted the primary school to extend to eight years.

A high proportion of households consider the major function of primary schools to be preparation for further schooling. Only about 10% indicated literacy and numeracy to be its most important task and for between 78% and 90% (depending on village) preparation for secondary schooling was seen as the major goal. When the question of function was posed in terms of preparation for work or preparation for secondary schools, parents responded in similar proportions, though in this case there were some differences related to occupational groups in that a slightly higher proportion of traders and of farm workers were in favour of preparation for work. Although preparation for secondary schooling was the major function desired by most

1. These data from national level statistics and could be expected to overestimate the retention in these three villages.

2. The relationship between household incomes and the household head's schooling is very strong. 61% of those with monthly incomes less than 15,000 rupiah ($30) had dropped out of primary school, 28% of those with incomes of 15-30,000 rupiah, 11.5% of those with incomes of 30-50,000 rupiah and 6.7% of those with incomes above 50,000 rupiah.

parents, almost all also considered that training in practical skills and in agriculture should be an important function of primary schools, a value consistent with the importance of the participation of children in productive household activities. The desire for this function was strong despite the reality that only the pesantren school in Hardjowinangun could claim to devote any attention to practical education.

The desire of households for their children to continue to secondary schooling is strong - varying from 73% in Hardjowinangun to 95% in Purwosari. The desire was strongly linked with the belief that secondary schooling could lead to more secure non village jobs with superior incomes.

Although the desire of most families is to have their children complete primary school and progress to secondary school, many realize that these levels of schooling could be beyond their resources, that in practice the opportunity for secondary schooling is limited and it would lead to non village occupations for the few rather than the many as it had in the past. Consistent with these beliefs, the desire for forms of non formal education for school leavers and older youths in the villages is almost universal among the households with variation only in the areas of skill training which are desirable. These included construction skills of various kinds, agriculture and vehicle maintenance and driving.

Needs for education

The desires of parents for formal schooling far outstrip the capacity of many to support it and far outstrip both the quantity of education which is supplied, and its quality and diversity.

The conditions of rapid change in the economy of the villages which have followed upon the green and technological revolutions and the consequential displacement of labour, movement toward cash relationships and an erosion of the security provided by customary relationships signify the villages are undergoing a series of rapid and dislocating changes. They signify also that movement of people from the villages to urban areas and in transmigration programs will for many be less a matter of choice and more a matter of survival. The acquisition of literacy in the mother tongue and the national language as well as a greater readiness to adapt to changes associated with completion of primary school appear to be necessary for the bulk of the population. The need is arguably greatest, in terms of survival, for the landless and poorest sector of the population, perhaps as large as 20% of

the villagers. It is among this group that the desire and capacity to afford primary schooling is lowest, but for whom the imperatives of change are the greatest.

The provision of primary schooling to meet this need will require changes to the current system not only by expansion but also by qualitative change designed to reduce repetition and failure of students within it, and to reduce the costs of schooling. Even without direct costs, the opportunity costs of childrens' labour will prevent the poorest from maintaining children at school. There is a case for the introduction of compulsory schooling but only if the practice of part-time schooling (morning or afternoon) is used particularly for the upper grades. There is likely to be conflict here between the desires of the comparatively well to do for schools to prepare students for secondary entrance and the needs of the poor to have access to schooling which allows children to work.

The introduction of skill training into the primary school curriculum is also logically related to technological change and the increased value of farm yields which may stimulate construction of housing and public facilities for the villages and thus require new skills, and is consistent with the desires of the communities. However, this need may be less important than the expansion of schooling and the qualitative changes required to bring about greater retention, changes which in themselves will require considerable teacher and teacher training and supervision resources. Qualitative changes of this kind can be regarded as desirable, but less necessary than universal numeracy and literacy.

The need for secondary schooling to provide opportunities for youth to enter secure non village occupations is not easy to quantify in the absence of surveys of employability of students and growth in the modern sectors of the economy, though it is known underemployment does occur at present. It seems likely that the desires of a large proportion of the families (75%) who want this form of schooling will be disappointed, were this form of non village schooling to be increased dramatically from the current proportion. The rapid economic changes within the villages and increased incomes of those with sufficient land and capital to benefit from the green revolution may lead to a greater demand for non agricultural labour in the villages, and thereby increase the need for skills related to secondary schooling. The prospects of a limited growth of non village occupations and limited but somewhat stronger growth in the villages suggest that secondary schooling within villages is a rational need. The function of these schools

would be to provide both general academic education and skill training. The desire of parents, however, is for academic education at this level and the education system has the capacity to provide only this type; only schooling which is part time, and this allows children to engage in productive work matches the capability of the poorer villagers to participate in it. The "open" secondary school which is being introduced into some Indonesian villages satisfies the desires of parents for academic schooling and the need for children to engage in productive work. It may form a complement to the provision of non formal programs.

The need for non formal education arises in part from the introduction of new technology and in part from the expansion of incomes which will increase demand for services. Training in activities which are based on traditional technologies and methods is provided by households and work groups. This training can be augmented by instruction in new methods and, where new technology rapidly displaces the old, as in transport, instruction may only be provided from outside the households or work groups. Health and family planning programs are examples of the need for other organized instruction which non formal programs can provide.

Non formal education by way of short term training in particular skills by teams of specialistteachers does not appear to be sufficiently integrated with village economic and social activities conducted by households and work teams, and effective programs may require the development of village based experts whose experience enables them to discover ways and means to relate non formal education to ongoing activities of small scale traders and citizens and construction groups, and to devise ways to supplement the training in order to prepare young people to use new technologies.

Comparative perspectives

Enquiry into the needs for schooling and non formal education in the hamlets in Fiji and the rice growing villages in Java has revealed two very different rural contexts. Each is undergoing change but the changes have very different origins and are proceeding at very different rates and with different degrees of discontinuity. In Fiji the changes are gradual, though they may seem rapid to the participants. They are taking place without threatening the basic security provided by the system of access to land and its abundance for all members of the community. Economic and social differentiation and inequality are growing but maintain or increase

the welfare of the poorer groups. In Java the rich, apparently, are becoming richer and the already poor becoming not only poorer but are losing the security of economic membership of their village community.

The desires of the people of those villages for schooling also reveal differences in the degree to which completion of primary schooling is wanted for their children, and the degree to which secondary schooling is also desired. Village people in both contexts desire much more than the schooling system is able to provide in terms of participation in schooling and in terms of its relevance to the occupational needs of the children. The desire for non formal education for youth in the villages is a common response to changing knowledge and technology and the inability of the formal school system to lead toward non village occupations.

The needs for schooling also have been judged to vary in some significant respects in the different contexts. Changes in both Fiji and Java require increases in participation of children in the higher grades of primary school, but in Java the pressures on land and the rapidity of change make increased participation more urgent, particularly for the rural poor and landless. In both contexts improved retention requires qualitative change in schooling to reduce failure. In Java compulsory attendance may be justified but only if direct costs are reduced for the poor and school hours in the upper grades are not increased or can be reduced. The case for reform toward a more relevant and practical curriculum is urgent for both contexts, but in Java may have to give way to the urgency of the need to increase retention.

Expansion of opportunities for secondary schooling is not clearly necessary to meet the pace and direction of change in Fijian villages, but is important in Java to enable a greater proportion of youth to be prepared for mobility into urban or transmigration environments. The changes within the Javanese villages provide a need for secondary schooling combined with opportunities for productive labour to be provided in the villages themselves. The open school provides a partly appropriate and feasible model.

In both contexts the economic and social changes in village life and the lack of retention and participation opportunities afforded by formal schooling set up urgent needs for village based non formal education programs which make use of but supplement the existing informal mechanisms within the villages, and serve to focus extension programs on the needs of the village youth and young adults. Programs of this kind are probably the most immediate need for educational reform.

Information Perspectives

The attempt to ground an enquiry into the need for change in schooling and non formal education in the economic and social changes which are occurring has probably revealed more of what we need to know in order to make a satisfactory analysis than of what we know. It is appropriate to end with reference to some of these serious lacunae. The enquiry is limited in the first instance by its cross-sectional, ahistorical nature, though some perspective on change over time is provided by the experience of the observers who surveyed the needs of their own villages of origin. It is limited also because much more needs to be known about the extent to which village adult populations will be replaced over a generation by their children and the extent to which the populations will grow over time, or even perhaps in Fiji, slowly decline. Such scenarios require demographic and economic analysis which is rarely available to educators. The effect of economic and technological change on the pace and direction of occupational changes in village life and the urban economies into which village people will be forced or drawn is also vital information for rational discussion of the role which schooling should play. A part of this information of particular relevance is the extent to which existing informal work experience and training opportunities provided by small scale trading and artisan enterprises can be utilized to provide opportunities for village youth. Perhaps the identification of these issues is sufficient to support the beliefs of those who aver that the design of education is too serious a business to be left to the enquiry of educators alone.

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